

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY MADRID

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 057667

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SP, CSCE, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET COMMENTS ON SPAIN AND RADIO LIBERTY

REF: (A) MOSCOW 2827; (B) MADRID 1707; (C) STATE 55619

1. THE SOVIETS HAVE TRADITIONALLY TRIED TO WORK BOTH SIDES OF THE STREET SIMULTANEOUSLY BY 1) PURSUING NORMAL STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS WITH A COUNTRY AND 2) MEDDLING IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS TO THE EXTENT OF SUPPORTING LOCAL COMMUNIST OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE KEY QUESTION IS THE RELATIVE EMPHASIS GIVEN THE TWO CONTRADICTORY APPROACHES AS AN INDICATION OF MOSCOW'S MAJOR POLICY LINE AT THE MOMENT. OF COURSE, PURSUIT OF ONE COURSE IN
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EXTREMES CAN PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS IN THE

OTHER.

2. IN THE CASE OF PRAVDA'S HARSH COMMENT ON SPANISH REGIME'S TREATMENT OF SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY, WE FEEL THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY INCOMPATIBLE, IN MOSCOW'S VIEW, WITH EFFORT TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH MADRID. IN FACT, TWO APPROACHES COULD GO HAND IN HAND AS FAR AS SOVIETS ARE CONCERNED. THEY ARE NEVERTHELESS SOPHISTICATED

ENOUGH TO REALIZE THAT CURRENT PRAVDA APPROACH MAY LESSEN RECEPTIVITY OF MADRID TO NORMALIZATION OF STATE RELATIONS, AND WE THUS AGREE WITH EMBASSY MOSCOW'S ANALYSIS (REF A) THAT PRAVDA ARTICLE SIGNIFIES SOVIETS ARE PRESENTLY BIDDING THEIR TIME TO SEE HOW SITUATION IN SPAIN SHAKES DOWN, AND USING THE WAITING PERIOD TO MEND FENCES WITH THE PCE BY STRONGLY CHAMPIONING ITS CAUSE. FURTHERMORE, SINCE MOSCOW DOES NOT HAVE DIPLOMATIC LEVERAGE IN MADRID, IT IS INCLINED TO RELY THE MORE HEAVILY ON WHAT INFLUENCE IT HAS THROUGH VEHICLE OF SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY.

3. WE SEE THEIR COMMENTS ON RADIO LIBERTY AS NOT TOO WELL COORDINATED ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE THE SPANISH TO REMOVE WHAT IS OBVIOUSLY AN IRRITANT TO THEM. BASED ON ORTEGA'S COMMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE SUBJECT LACKS REAL IMPORTANCE TO WASHINGTON OR MADRID, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIETS FELT THEY WERE SOWING ON FERTILE GROUND. KISSINGER

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